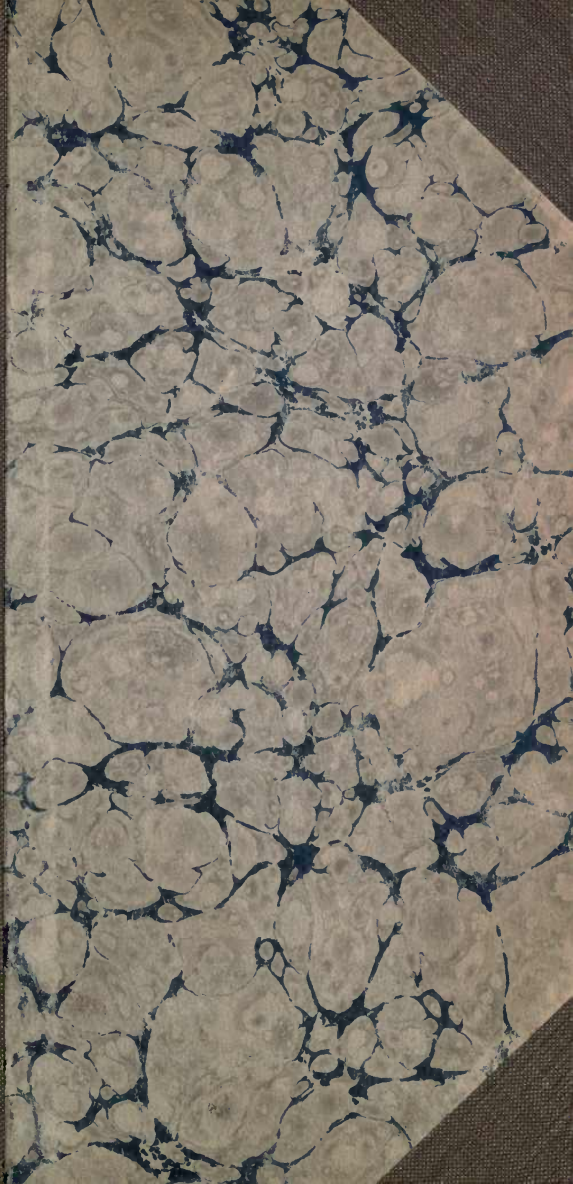


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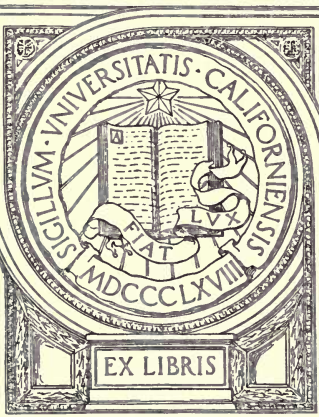


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MAJOR SCOTT,

TO

PHILIP FRANCIS, Esq.

*[Scott-Waring, John]*

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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P R E F A C E.

OCT 25 1940

**I**N publishing a second Edition of my Letter to Mr. Francis, I am happy in having an opportunity of saying, that the facts stated in the letter, have proved to the satisfaction of every candid man with whom I have conversed upon it, that the assertions made by the Chairman of the Court of Directors in the House, were strictly and literally true.

That a British governor should have added two millions three hundred thousand pounds a year to the revenue of the empire; that

Dawson's

357240

the King's Ministers and Parliament should have approved, and his successors should have followed his plans; that the people whom he governed for thirteen years should join almost as one man in bearing testimony to his merits; that agriculture, population, and commerce, should have been in a progressive state of improvement during his administration; that these facts should be proved by clear incontrovertible evidence, entered upon the Journals of Parliament, and most unequivocally acknowledged by the King's Ministers; but that the same British governor should remain four years impeached for the oppression, the ruin, and destruction in which he had involved the natives of Bengal, and for the loss and damage which the revenues sustained from his measures, are circumstances so wonderful in their nature, that an honest man will in future scarcely look for justice upon earth; for where shall it be sought, if it is not to be found under a constitution which  
boasts

boasts of such perfection, and in a jurisprudence of such purity, as are the constitution and jurisprudence of Great Britain.

Upon the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings much has been said and written by men of all descriptions. With the question of law I have never interfered; but under that of discretion I can say, that no gentleman can go into a mixed company in this great city, without hearing many a pious wish for the impeachment being brought to a close, yet it still “drags its slow length along,” nor can any man form an idea as to the number of years which may be required to close the prosecution.

The American war was continued after the capture of two of our armies had destroyed all hopes of success.

The Impeachment of Mr. Hastings is continued after every man in the kingdom  
fees,



fees, that the great and material charges against him are totally false, and groundless.

I mean no offence by this expression, and I hope none will be taken, after I have explained myself.

Mr. Burke, that Proteus in politics, who first moved the impeachment, did it upon a ground that was very fair, and very intelligible.

Mr. Hastings was declared by Mr. Burke to be the scourge of the human race; that he had desolated provinces, broken the faith of treaties, violated private rights, reduced noble families to distress, and, in short, that he had brought every calamity upon a miserable people which can be comprehended under the expressive words in the articles, "oppression," "ruin," and "destruction."

These

These acts were the ground work of the impeachment; for, said Mr. Burke, “had he  
“ improved the public revenues and made  
“ a numerous people happy, I should not  
“ have inquired into the amount of his for-  
“ tune, nor should I too strictly have scru-  
“ tinized his actions.”

Now this I affirm in the face of the whole world, and I say that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas have again and again declared the fact to be, that the natives of Bengal were happier under the British administration than at any former period, and they as India Ministers have annually presented accounts, which prove the increase of the public revenue by the measures of Mr. Hastings; the ground, therefore, of Mr. Burke has slipped from under him, the great and material charges are totally false; and without detracting from the consequence of that article (the contracts) which the present House has in its wisdom alone adopted,  
if

if put in competition with those which they have abandoned, it is a mere question, whether Mr. Hastings gave thirteen pence for a common necessary of life, which a more oeconomical man might have purchased for a shilling.

The inconsistency in which the late parliament was involved, is indeed of a most singular nature.

By voting twenty articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings, comprehending in them the strongest condemnation of *the system* by which India *was, and is, held and governed*, they fully and completely justified every statement that Mr. Fox ever gave, as a ground for his celebrated bill during its progress through the former House of Commons, and Mr. Fox might with great truth say, that he had fallen a sacrifice to low and pitiful intrigue, if the same Parliament which voted the twenty articles, had

had not also voted the resolutions moved four years successively by the India Minister Mr. Henry Dundas. These resolutions virtually justified *all* that Mr. Hastings had done, and proclaimed to the world that Bengal had *not* been plundered, oppressed, or destroyed, nor the revenues diminished, *during his administration.*

In short, with such contradictory matter before us, we ought in our closets to reject *articles, votes, and oratory*, and confine ourselves to the amount of the resources and expences in Bengal during Mr. Hastings's administration, to the declarations of the People of India, and to such unbiassed evidence as the Managers themselves have produced in Westminster Hall.

By this mass of indisputable, undisputed evidence, the following facts are established:

b

1st,

1st, That Mr. Hastings increased the resources of Bengal above two millions three hundred thousand pounds during his administration.

2dly, That the peace establishment fixed for Bengal by Mr. Dundas was higher by above one million sterling than the peace establishment of Mr. Hastings.

3dly, That the expences of the present *partial* war, greatly exceed those of the last *general* war in India.

4thly, That the natives of India, of all ranks, sects, and religions, have concurred in expressing their sense of the merits of Mr. Hastings.

5thly, That Bengal increased during his administration, and is still increasing in agriculture, population, and commerce, under that system which he had formed, to which

His



His Majesty's Ministers annually enjoin the closest adherence, but at the same time, annually join the prosecutors of Mr. Hastings in arraiging it before the High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall.

It has been observed in some of the opposition papers, that I have paid many compliments to Mr. Francis, but that I have vented all my indignation (as they are pleased to term it) against Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas.

I have certainly given Mr. Francis and his colleagues credit for consistency from the moment this Impeachment commenced. Yet I do not despair of their following (with some exceptions) the example of Mr. Bastard, who believing that Mr. Hastings had desolated provinces and diminished the public resources, voted for his Impeachment: but having received proofs that these charges were false, altered his opinion, and had the

✓ manliness rather to confess an error than to persist in it. Mr. Francis and his friends appear to me at the present moment to reject as untrue, the most incontrovertible evidence, provided it clashes with their favourite notions; I rejoice, therefore, that they are not the judges of Mr. Hastings, and I rejoice that their statements have not made the slightest impression upon the minds of the public.

✓ But having said thus much of the gentleman in opposition, I must say, that it is impossible upon any principle of justice to account for the conduct of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, to whom, as Ministers, a great and important trust has been delegated.

*They* know, and *they* have repeatedly declared, that Bengal was neither oppressed, plundered, nor destroyed by Mr. Hastings. They voted *once* against the charge in toto, which contained these expressions; but

but being then left in a minority, they never again agitated the matter, but gave their vote and their influence for the charge when it was finally passed, though that charge has really, and truly falsified every statement that they have given in successive years, of the prosperous state of Bengal.

Again in the Benares article, which turned in fact, upon a principle of taxation. Mr. Pitt in the strongest manner justified the principle, but without coming again to any division, or ever after agitating that question, though he solemnly pledged himself to agitate it, he suffered Mr. Hastings to be impeached for calling his principle into practice, in the hour of emergency.

And afterwards under the head of contracts—Mr. Pitt rejected the whole, except two, (the bullock and opium contracts) affirming that two others for which Mr. Burke contended, were not only free from blame, but

but highly meritorious, and that by one, he had in the most sure and œconomical a manner, preserved a nation from perishing by famine.

Now supposing Mr. Pitt had moved the amendments as he proposed, and supposing his opinions had had that weight with the House, which for seven years they generally have had, what a skeleton of an Impeachment it would have been, when compared to what it is!! I conceive less than ten days would have been sufficient for prosecution, defence, and judgment.

The nation would have saved at least forty thousand pounds, an individual would have been secured from an oppression of the first magnitude, and the Ministers would not have incurred the odium which sooner or later must attend the man, who on one day pronounces those acts to be criminal, to

which upon another he gives his warmest approbation.

I well know that Mr. Pitt could not command the late Parliament, and God forbid that such a power should at any time be in the hands of a Minister, but he could have performed his own solemn promise; he could have done what he did last year when he was left in a minority, in a bill for regulating the Slave Trade. He could have moved amendments upon the report, and if he had so done, I believe in my conscience they would have been carried by a great majority.

The preceding observations apply to the first seven articles only. Of the remaining thirteen, having said and written so much, it is merely for the purpose of bringing the subject completely before the public, I now repeat, that these articles were voted by the House three days before they were printed,

of



of course they were not read; they affirm a system to be highly criminal, which Mr. Henry Dundas, the India Minister, ordered *to be invariably adhered to*, to which in three several letters to Bengal, he signed his approbation, with his approbation also of the principle on which it was formed, after a full consideration, as he says, in one of the letters, of all the minutes and proceedings that had a relation to the subject.

An Englishman who does not look up with respect to the House of Commons, must be a bad subject; but an Englishman who supposes the House of Commons not to be as liable to error as any other body of men in the kingdom, must shut his eyes to conviction. A debt of two hundred and fifty millions contracted in one century, and four fifths of it in half that period, taxes imposed upon every article that can be called a luxury or a necessary of life, and an empire dismembered, tell us but too plainly, that those  
mea-

measures to which Parliament has given its warmest approbation, have turned out very unfortunate indeed for the country; and if we are now able to exert ourselves and to raise the astonishing sum of seventeen millions within one year, it is more owing to the vigour and genius of the people, than to the wisdom of Ministers, or of former Parliaments.

There was a time when Mr. Burke would have most cordially agreed in this sentiment. There was a time when he went *farther* than *I* mean to go, when he said \* “ the distempers of monarchy were the great subjects of apprehension and redress *in the last century; in this, the distempers of Parliament.*”

But Mr. Burke has been so frightened by the French Revolution, or Mr. Pitt has so

\* Page 56 of Mr. Burke's “ Present Discontents.”

completely converted him, that he now speaks highly of every part of a constitution, † whose  
 “ merits are confirmed by long experience  
 “ *and an increasing* public strength and na-  
 “ tional prosperity.”

The cause of the protraction of the trial of Mr. Hastings is now perfectly understood. The late House put seven questions upon the first seven articles, and one upon the last thirteen. Yet in strict justice as these twenty articles contain above fourteen hundred criminal allegations, there should have been fourteen hundred separate questions. If therefore the late House had originally proceeded with regularity, it must have abandoned all that this House has given up, and nine tenths at least of what it still retains.

As the late Parliament, like all others, was composed of gentlemen of enlightened

† Page 85 of Mr. Burke's Reflections.

minds, and as Mr. Burke tells us, that the Managers are men remarkable for their good nature; an indifferent person must be struck with astonishment, at a perseverance, which some may think borders upon malignity. For the conduct of Mr. Fox, and those with whom he is connected, one may account by supposing them to be actuated by those passions to which human nature is subject. The tempest that raged so furiously against Mr. Fox in 1784, was first raised by the friends of the East India Company, and Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Fox early declared his hostility, and he has been an open and avowed enemy. Had we then fallen, it had not been by an ignoble wound, from the poniard of an assassin.

The use that was made of the name and character of Mr. Hastings at that period, is perfectly well known to every man who

has bestowed a thought upon the politics of Great Britain. I would not presume to call to the recollection of any man the honourable mention which Lord Thurlow then made of Mr. Hastings, if the facts which have since been proved in Westminster Hall did not fully justify his Lordship, for every sentence that he uttered. I will not quote the sentiments of Mr. George Hardinge, delivered with great force at that time, because I read them in my place in the House, upon a former occasion. But the following passage from Mr. Rous's speech in the House of Lords, is so exceedingly forcible and so strictly true, that I cannot forbear to insert it in this place,

“ The human character is not formed in  
“ retirement and from the study of books ;  
“ it grows from the scene in which man is  
“ destined to act. For what the scene to  
“ which I allude, has produced, I may re-  
“ fer your Lordships to what the servants of  
“ the



“ the East India Company have written on  
“ the subjects of war, of policy and of com-  
“ merce. I might refer to those great  
“ names which have arisen in their service,  
“ who while Great Britain claims the fore-  
“ most rank among nations, may dispute  
“ the palm with the bravest and ablest of  
“ her sons. I might refer to the great and  
“ much injured man, *who is the more im-*  
“ *mediate object of our present attention,* I  
“ mean Mr. Hastings: possessed of every  
“ talent which can adorn and raise the sta-  
“ tion which he fills, indefatigable industry,  
“ penetrating sagacity, fertility in resource,  
“ but above all, that personal and political  
“ magnanimity, which bears him undif-  
“ mayed through every difficulty, and has  
“ enabled him not only to extricate us with-  
“ out loss, from a ruinous and extensive war,  
“ which in every other quarter of the globe  
“ has diminished the territories of Great  
“ Britain, but to snatch the laurels from the  
“ brow of the enemy, and by the victories  
“ in

“ in the East in a degree to redeem the  
“ losses, which, under a different conduct,  
“ this unhappy country sustained in the  
“ West.”

Such was the character then given of Mr. Hastings. Those who have since seen his firmness and magnanimity, while arraigned as a criminal for acts then pronounced to be meritorious, can best determine the truth of Mr. Rous's description.

I have declared in the most public manner, that during the critical period which preceded the removal of Mr. Fox, I never asked directly or indirectly for favour or protection for Mr. Hastings, and whatever promises of support were given, came voluntary, and unsolicited by me. But I must have been unsufferably stupid indeed, not to have taken the precaution of insisting upon justice for Mr. Hastings, had I supposed it to be within possibility, that in less than  
three

three years, from the date of Mr. Fox's removal, the Minister who came into power, by opposing what he then called and what I yet call fallacious statements, should by his vote justify every thing that Mr. Fox had said, while in his speeches he approved and in his practice he adhered to the systems formed by Mr. Hastings.

I know the abilities of Mr. Fox too well not to be aware of the length to which he could push this argument in his own favour, could he have supported by evidence, the articles which the late House voted. Did I in my conscience believe those articles to be true, I would beg the forgiveness of my God, my Country, and my King, for the small share which I formerly had in exciting the people to oppose their representatives. Will any man of common sense believe that I would have declined on the morning that Mr. Fox opened his India system, to meet Mr. Sheridan, then in the  
zenith

zenith of power, and his friends supported by a decided majority in both Houses, had Mr. Hastings instructed me under any possible circumstances, to bargain for his resignation, or for his future safety?

But to Mr. Hastings the consequences have been most serious, as far as a trial protracted to a length hitherto unknown, and at an expence which to an individual must be ruin, since even to the nation the amount is of moment, can make them serious.

He was in the public service, filling the first and most important office in the gift of Great Britain, at the close of a very long and calamitous war, when the King's Ministers were pleased to present a scheme for the better government of India.

This scheme they declared to be absolutely necessary for the salvation of India, which  
was

was then, as the authors of the scheme said, on the brink of ruin, owing to the gross neglect, mismanagement, and corruption of Mr. Hastings.

Another great party opposed with their utmost force this plan of Mr. Fox, and they could not do it without placing Mr. Hastings in the front of the battle. The present Lord Chancellor, with a decision which marks his conduct upon all occasions, declared it to be perfectly absurd, to argue the merits of a bill which was professedly grounded upon the supposed delinquencies of Mr. Hastings, without entering fully into his character and conduct, which he did accordingly. The change followed, and Mr. Pitt continued three months a Minister, with a majority of the House of Commons against him.

By this proceeding, of which Mr. Hastings could have no knowledge until it was



concluded, he unfortunately excited the resentment of a very powerful party in this kingdom, against which he had nothing to oppose, save a reliance upon the honour, the honesty, and the gratitude of those who had acquired power, in a great measure, by the incessant activity of his friends.

Before the return of Mr. Hastings to England, Mr. Dundas, the original India oracle in the House of Commons, had so far read his recantation, as to avow his satisfaction that a motion which he had himself made for the removal of Mr. Hastings had been successfully resisted, adding, that by the resistance, *India had been saved.*

On the return of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intentions to prosecute him, and accordingly in the next year he presented a body of charges, which stated every act that Mr. Hastings had done in thirteen years, to be criminal.

The charges were not couched in language more abusive, than Mr. Burke has often applied to Mr. Pitt, to Mr. Dundas, and to Mr. Hastings.

The transactions of the first year were to reject the Rohilla war, and to vote that something was impeachable in the Benares charge, Mr. Pitt expressly confining himself to one single point, namely, that an intended fine for an actual offence, was higher than it ought to have been.

The next year the cause was resumed with the celebrated Begum charge, when there appeared a very material alteration in the conduct of Mr. Pitt. He no longer, as in the first year, talked of the eminent services of Mr. Hastings, “that by exertions  
“almost beyond belief, he had preserved  
“an empire in a season of the utmost dan-  
“ger;” but with a table covered over with proofs of the distresses of the Company, and

with proofs that by the acquisition of a large sum in specie in 1782, those distresses alone could have been removed, and India preserved, he affirmed, that because a separate peace had been concluded with Madajee Sindia, no necessity could have existed. In the course of that year he sometimes voted for, and sometimes, against the charges, in their first stage.

It being determined that in seven charges there was something impeachable, a Committee was appointed to put that something into a regular, legal form. This Committee consisted of gentlemen from one side of the House, who very naturally included every criminal allegation originally in the charges. Mr. Pitt was bound in honour, and upon his own professed principles and declarations, to move his amendments, and to exert his whole force in carrying those amendments. This was due in justice to his own character, to his country, and to Mr. Hastings,

but

But he never did it, and the consequence was, as I observed before, that Mr. Hastings was arraigned as a criminal, for acts of which Mr. Pitt had expressed the warmest approbation.

If it shall be asked, why did Mr. Pitt thus change his mind? I must answer, I cannot tell—but my belief is, that if Mr. Pitt had moved his amendments, it would so have reduced the articles, that the present Managers would have told him, “you and your friends may carry such articles as these are to the Lords—we will not.”

Of the progress of the trial I shall not say a word, but upon the eulogium passed upon Mr. Pitt's constitutional conduct by Mr. Burke a few evenings ago, I must make a few observations.

If the inconsistency of Mr. Burke were any longer worth a man's trouble to expose,

God

God knows the field is ample enough. He professes to treat Mr. Pitt with respect now, and to have abandoned all his former acrimony, because Mr. Pitt has dulcified and neutralized him, by his late conduct in a constitutional question, meaning the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings.

I will take but one of a hundred accusations which Mr. Burke has at times brought against Mr. Pitt. It is this; “ that  
 “ having passed *a corrupt act*, he has carried it  
 “ so corruptly into effect, that the consolidated  
 “ corruption of ages falls short of it in enor-  
 “ mity—that all the acts and monuments in  
 “ the heroic times of Roman iniquity, does  
 “ not equal the gigantic corruption of this  
 “ single act.” Mr. Burke has at times applied  
 coarser epithets to other people, which proves  
 that he is not always master of courtly lan-  
 guage—but in point of substance, of seri-  
 ous accusation, I defy any one man to pre-  
 fer a more weighty charge against another,  
 than



than Mr. Burke has here preferred against Mr. Pitt. But he is dulcified, neutralized, and I believe converted, because Mr. Pitt having in the last Parliament voted for twenty articles, thirteen of which he never read, and of the remaining seven, disapproved all the most material parts, has been pleased in the present Parliament to vote that the Impeachment still continues. Because Mr. Pitt has not been pleased even in this Parliament to discriminate at all, or to say what parts of the articles accord with his ideas, and what parts do not. My understanding is so muddy, that I can perceive nothing either so constitutional, or so just in this conduct, as ought to induce an honest man to be dulcified and neutralized to Mr. Pitt, provided that honest man had formerly accused him of acts of the most atrocious iniquity.

than Mr. Burke has been presented against  
 Mr. Pitt. The House divided, Mr. Pitt  
 and I believe carried, because Mr. Pitt  
 having in the last Parliament voted for  
 twenty millions, a sum of which he never  
 paid, and for the remaining seven, being  
 paid in the last Parliament, has been  
 placed in the present Parliament to vote  
 that the impost should still continue. He  
 says Mr. Pitt has not been paid, even  
 in this Parliament to the amount of all, or  
 to any part of the article second with  
 his ideas, and what parts do not. My un-  
 derstanding is to mind, that I can perceive  
 nothing either in contradiction, or in  
 in this country, as ought to induce an honest  
 man to be dishonest and unprincipled to Mr.  
 Pitt, provided that honest man had formerly  
 assisted him or not of the most anxious

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T O

PHILIP FRANCIS, Esq.

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Bromley, 6th March, 1791. ✓

S I R,

**T**HE moderate, the temperate language which you have lately used in speaking of Mr. Hastings, induces me to hope, that we shall approach nearer to each other in opinion hereafter, than we have done for some years. In this letter, I do assure you, I mean not to revive old animosities. It were needless now to inquire into the mo-

B

tives ✓

tives that induced you to depart from that honourable line, which you took in your first Parliamentary Speech, when you declared, “ that you bore no enmity to Mr. Hastings, and were convinced that he bore none to you, both of you being of tempers too warm to retain resentment; your contest was at an end, and the hostilities it produced expired with it; and that Mr. Hastings, though in many points you had differed, was undoubtedly a man of uncommon abilities.”

It were needless now to inquire how it happened that the two great parties of the late House of Commons, differing as wide as light is from darkness, as to the real points of criminality in Mr. Hastings's conduct, yet jumped to the same conclusion, and joined in the vote of impeachment. And whatever difference of opinion there may be between me and the gentlemen with whom you have acted, I must do

do you all the justice to say, that your conduct has been marked by the strictest consistency, while the King's Ministers, have, beyond all doubt, impeached Mr. Hastings for those systems, to which they have given their fullest approbation.

It appears to me, that you entertain some doubt whether this assertion, which I have so often made, is really founded in truth; it is to remove every doubt from your mind, and to prove the justice of Mr. Lushington's remarks, that I take the liberty of troubling you with this letter.

The subject has attracted much of the attention of the public, and will, you may be assured, attract its attention still more; for I perfectly agree with you, that if the present war should be of any continuance, it can only be maintained by adding fresh burthens to the heavy ones which the people of England now labour under,



and that it will be another American war, in point of expence.

I am fure I may safely affirm, that in no possible point of view can this war be attributed to Mr. Hastings; nor can it be attributed to him, that the finances of India were in so embarrassed a state when it commenced, as to cause serious alarms in the breast of every man of reflection both at home and abroad.

I agree perfectly with you also, that the Company is dead and gone; that is to say, the political power was placed by Parliament so fully in the hands of the Board of Controul, by the bill of 1784, that the Ministers alone are responsible for every measure adopted in India since that period.

You well remember how much we differed in opinion in that year as to our future prospects in Bengal; I ventured then to predict,

predict, that there would be an available surplus in Bengal, of one hundred and fifty lacks of rupees a year ; most people thought me too sanguine, but I drew my conclusions from the materials then transmitted by Mr. Hastings, and the truth has been, that the available surplus was one fourth higher than I estimated it at, owing to two causes ; that the revenues have been much more productive, and the expences a little below my estimate. But this advantage has been more than counterbalanced by the enormous expences of the Carnatic and Bombay ; whether necessary or not, it is no part of my business to inquire now, possibly with a view to the present war they were not improper.

You must agree with me, that Bengal is in a most flourishing situation indeed, since after the astonishing drains of money which it sustained during the last war, it has been able to afford great assistance to the  
Carnatic

✓ Carnatic and to China, and to send each year an investment of nearly a million to England.

✓ The point then to consider is, to whom is this flourishing situation of the country to be attributed? The Chairman of the Court of Directors says, to Mr. Hastings—I say so too.

You appear to doubt the fact, and in reply to the appeal that was made to us both, I will answer by a candid statement of facts, which you, I am sure, will well understand, and which you, I think, cannot possibly contradict.

The assertion of the Chairman was, that Mr. Hastings had received the Government of Bengal, when all its resources were little more than three millions sterling a year; that they were improving during his administration, and that when he resigned, they  
were

were more than five, being an increase of above two millions sterling a year ; that the country flourished under Mr. Hastings, and that Lord Cornwallis pursued the same system.

Here, then, is an assertion of fact ; it must be true, or it must be false ; I affirm it to be strictly true, and shall proceed to prove it beyond all doubt, happy in addressing myself to a gentleman, who from local knowledge, and distinguished ability, can correct me if I am wrong.

I shall first begin by stating our connections with the foreign Princes, and States of Indostan.

Mr. Hastings, as you know, has the credit of breaking that formidable confederacy, which was formed in 1779 for the destruction of the British power in India.

Moodajee Boofla, who was compelled to take a part in it, he bought off for sixteen lacks of rupees, in April 1781, after thirty thousand Marattas had been inactive for some months on the borders of Bengal. A perfect cordiality has subsisted between the two governments ever since, and Lord Cornwallis has now a Resident at the Court of Berar.

The Nizam he also drew off from the alliance, and converted him into a sincere friend.

With Madajee Sindia he concluded a separate peace in October 1781, who then undertook to mediate a general peace with the Marattas, which was concluded in May 1782, and ratified in January 1783.

And here allow me to digress a moment, in order to inform you, that the delay in ratifying that peace was solely to



be imputed to the resolutions moved by Mr. Dundas in April 1782; these arrived at Poona in September, and the Marattas, naturally concluding that the power of Mr. Hastings was at an end, declined to ratify the peace, nor was it done until a gentleman whom I sent express to India, arrived with an account of Lord Rockingham's decease, and the successful support which Mr. Hastings received from the East India Company. You and I have since heard Mr. Dundas express his satisfaction at that resistance to his own motion, and we have also heard him declare, that India was saved by that resistance. Every step which Mr. Dundas took during the late war, was calculated to weaken the Government in India; he wisely, now that he is a responsible minister, strengthens it by every means in his power.

The most perfect good understanding has continued between us and every branch of

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the

the Maratta State, from the conclusion of the peace to this time. Mr. David Anderson was the first Resident with Madajee Sindia; Mr. James Anderson the second; both the particular friends of Mr. Hastings.

The Resident appointed by Earl Cornwallis in 1788, was Major William Palmer, who still fills the same office, though stiled in the articles of impeachment, the secret, confidential agent and bribe broker of Mr. Hastings.

The two treaties lately concluded with the Marattas and the Nizam, of which Parliament has so highly approved, originate in Mr. Hastings. Both powers were eager to conclude the same alliance in 1783, and Mr. Fox urged as a reason for wishing to recal Mr. Hastings, when his bill was before Parliament, that he had attempted to unite all India in a new war against Tippoo, with whom we were, in fact, then

at war. Mr. Fox is therefore most consistent in all his India Politics; but I should be very glad to ask you, who possess industry, ability, and judgement, in what particular, be it ever so slight, does Lord Cornwallis, or the Board of Controul, deviate from the system of foreign alliances and connections that Mr. Hastings established? Most assuredly in none; Mr. Fox may think the Board of Controul, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Hastings, and Parliament, totally wrong; but this is certain, that the system Mr. Hastings fixed, ministers have followed, and Parliament has approved. In my opinion we were better able to continue the war in 1784, than we were to commence it last year.

Having gone through this part, I come next to the Princes and Chiefs dependent upon, or in alliance with Bengal, and I shall trace them by the map. The first, and who touches the Cachemerian Hills,

is Fyzoola Cawn. I will not go into the causes of dispute between this Chief and the Nabob of Oude, during the residencies of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Middleton; but in 1783, these disputes were totally put an end to, by an agreement entered into under the mediation, rather than the agency of Major William Palmer. That agreement has been most religiously observed ever since: the late House discovered, what Fyzoola Cawn never could, that Mr. Hastings had used this Chief extremely ill, for Fyzoola Cawn has corresponded with Mr. Hastings since his return to England; and in the letter he wrote to Sir John Macpherson, all he asks is, that he will treat him with the same kindness Mr. Hastings did.

The next is Muzuffer Jung, the Nabob of Furruckabad, dependent also upon Oude. Various means were tried to serve this Prince; he conceived Mr. Hastings to have  
acted

acted with the best intentions in the world towards him, in appointing Residents at his own desire, and in withdrawing them afterwards by his own desire. By the 4th Article of the Treaty of Chunar, all interference was withdrawn, and after the late House had voted that article of the treaty to be criminal, *Lord Cornwallis confirmed it*, and the Board of Controul *approved of what his Lordship had done*. Muzuffer Jung has very lately expressed his astonishment that any man should conceive his friend and protector Mr. Hastings had ever used him ill. But we live in an age of discovery most certainly!

Here then you find that the two Chiefs dependent upon Oude, remain precisely as they were fixed by Mr. Hastings.

Oude is a kingdom in which, as you well know, we obtained a sort of influence that was never before heard of. The  
act,



act, (though originating in the connection formed with Sujah Dowlah, by Mr. Hastings) was yours, and the advantage most undoubtedly was obtained by a very flagrant breach of an existing treaty. The Company drew from Oude between 1775 and 1784, above nine millions sterling.

In December 1783, Mr. Hastings withdrew every species of interference from Oude—a measure to which Mr. Dundas signed his approbation in April 1785, and voted to impeach Mr. Hastings for it in May 1787; an inconsistency which I dare say you will join with me in reprobating; though Mr. Burke, whose life, as he tells us, has been passed in compromises, may not.

In April 1784, Mr. Hastings concluded his arrangement with the Nabob of Oude, and in September 1785, Mr. Dundas ordered, that it should be invariably adhered to;

But

But in May 1787, *he impeached Mr. Hastings for that arrangement.* ✓

On Lord Cornwallis's arrival in Sept. 1786, the Nabob sent his Minister Hyder Beg Khan, to strengthen and confirm the agreement that had been concluded with Mr. Hastings.

His Lordship conceived some additional battalions were necessary in Oude, and the Nabob consented to the measure; but in all other points he adhered to the *principles* laid down by Mr. Hastings, and approved by the Company; what he had done, being, as he says himself, with a view to strengthen those principles and to render them permanent.

Mr. Dundas, in reply to this information, tells Lord Cornwallis, that *after an attentive consideration*, he approves the arrangement,

ment, and the principles on which it was formed.

After this plain and unadorned statement of facts, you and the whole world must agree with me, that with respect to foreign alliances, and to Princes and Chiefs dependent upon the Government of Bengal, Lord Cornwallis has most rigidly adhered to the system established by Mr. Hastings, and approved by Mr. Dundas.

Under that system the annual subsidy of fifty lacks from Oude has been most regularly paid, and even ten lacks advanced by Hyder Beg Khan, when Lord Cornwallis was in want of money. You know that this whole system is violently condemned by the articles of impeachment; and Mr. Hastings is stated to be in the highest degree criminal for adopting it; but that does not alter the fact. Let the disgrace of such

notorious inconsistency fall where it ought, the fact must be still the same.

I shall now consider the state of our own provinces—beginning with Benares.

Whether the expulsion of Cheyt Sing was morally right, is not a subject which I shall here enter upon, but I will prove to you that it has been attended with great pecuniary advantages to the East India Company, that it has produced very beneficial effects to the country, and that Lord Cornwallis pursues the system which Mr. Hastings established.

This Zemindary was transferred to us by the Nabob of Oude in the year 1775, and the rent paid by Cheyt Sing until 1781, was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  lacks of Rupees a year, with five in addition as a subsidy from 1778, when the war in Europe commenced.

From 1781 until this time, we have received an increased rent of seventeen lacks a year. The confusion which naturally attends a revolt occasioned some defalcation in the two first years rent, but even that was not very considerable; and since that period the balances have been very trifling, in some years no balance of any kind, and in others an increased rent.

The police of the city of Benares, as regulated by Mr. Hastings, has attracted the attention of all Indostan. It has occasioned a very great resort of Hindoos from every part of the Decan to that holy city, and Benares has been increasing in size and population from the day of Cheyt Sing's expulsion until this time. Yet Mr. Burke took upon him to assert, and for a time obtained credit for the assertion, that Mr. Hastings, by appointing a Mahometan, chief magistrate in the first Hindoo city in India, had shocked the feelings of every man in the coun-



country. You know that this declaration is totally false in fact: Ally Ibrahim Cawn, the chief magistrate, is universally esteemed one of the most virtuous Mahometans in India, and he has been patronized and employed by Earl Cornwallis, precisely in the same manner as he was by Mr. Hastings. It is a fact of general notoriety that the city of Benares was at no time in so flourishing a state as since we assumed a more direct controul in its government.

There were many predictions, as I well remember, as to the future fate of the province. It was very roundly asserted, that the increased rent could not be paid, but experience has proved that it can, nor do I find any apprehension expressed from any quarter, of a failure hereafter. The present Resident, Mr. Jonathan Duncan was, as you well know, bred up under Mr. Hastings, and employed particularly by him, in all revenue business. The powers with

which Mr. Hastings vested the Residents of Benares, Lord Cornwallis has not diminished, on the contrary, he has considerably enlarged them, and the Rajah is still further reduced, than he was in the time of Mr. Hastings; or in other words, as Mr. Hastings made the present Rajah much more dependent upon Bengal than Cheyt Sing was, Lord Cornwallis acting *upon the same principles*, has made him now a mere Bengal Zemindar. Will you point out to me any one alteration in the system established by Mr. Hastings for Benares? except that sort of change, which, by Mr. Burke's doctrine, must be mischievous and criminal, namely, increasing the British power in the province, and trampling upon the Rajah's privileges. In every part of the province considerable improvements have been made, and a new city has lately been erected near Mirzapore.

The progressive improvement in the province, is undoubtedly owing to the expulsion of Cheyt Sing; but I am far from thinking that we have a right to dispossess men of the countries which belong to them, because we can govern them better, and therefore his expulsion must be justified upon other grounds. I think now as I always did, and as every man must think, who will allow his reason to operate, that if there is any crime in that Rajah's expulsion, it is not Mr. Hastings, nor Mr. Francis who is the criminal, but his Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors are deeply responsible; and if I may take the same liberty with the late parliament on this subject, as my acquaintance Mr. George Rous has upon another, (the Regency) I will say that it was in the highest degree disgraceful to the House, to carry an article to the bar of the Lords, containing within itself a great number of articles, I believe not less than thirty-nine,

✓ nine, without having come to a specific vote upon each of those articles.

By what criterion am I to judge of the opinions entertained by the members of the late House? Mr. Fox, in a very clear and manly way, stated that we were bound by solemn engagements not to demand, under any circumstances, one rupee from Cheyt Sing beyond his annual rent; that it was criminal in the first instance to make the demand, and highly criminal to punish him, for delaying to obey an illegal order. This is perfectly clear to every man's comprehension, and could only be answered by a declaration, that Mr. Hastings had affirmed in the year in which he made the demand, that he had a right by treaty to make it, that the attention of the King's Minister and the Court of Directors, was particularly called to this subject, because though you did not positively deny the right, you had some doubts in your mind. By their silence for  
 three

three years, Mr. Hastings had every reason to believe they concurred with him in this opinion, “ that we were bound by no engagement to abstain from the right inherent in every government, of calling upon their subjects for extraordinary aids in times of emergency.”

But Mr. Pitt defended the act in the fullest manner, and asserted that Cheyt Sing was criminal for his disobedience, yet not in so great a degree as to justify Mr. Hastings for forming a determination in his own mind, to impose upon him a fine of forty or fifty lacks of rupees. British justice is a term much used in the world, but I will appeal to you, whether in the course of your reading you have met with a transaction similar to this, in the annals of any nation upon earth. God forbid that even the devil should be impeached to all eternity; yet his crime is defined; he is our common enemy, and never happy but when leading us astray;



astray; but Mr. Hastings has had an eternal impeachment, that is to say, eternal as applied to the last parliament, and for crimes which that Parliament did not condescend to specify. Their sentiments I cannot possibly collect from their votes, because the vote was not more than this, that in the Benares charge divided into four parts, and again subdivided into five thousand more, there was a something for which Mr. Hastings ought to be impeached. That something, said Mr. Fox, is every thing; it is for originally making a demand contrary to a treaty, for persevering three years in that demand, and then for expelling the Prince, who did not very willingly obey it. No, said Mr. Pitt, the something is nothing at all that you have stated. Mr. Hastings had as much merit in making the demands he did, as Cheyt Sing had demerit in daring to disobey the orders he received; but there should be a proportion between crimes and punishment, and though the man was highly criminal,

minal, yet it was a crime, a high crime in Mr. Hastings to propose to levy so enormous a fine as forty or fifty lacks for his delinquency.

You well know that Mr. Pitt solemnly pledged himself to move an amendment upon this article, by which the real sense of the House must have been collected; for some reason best known to himself, he did not perform that pledge. Mr. Fox's ideas were very naturally adopted by those who framed the article, and the consequence was that the late House voted it without either a debate or a division, and Mr. Hastings was brought upon his trial in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, for calling upon Cheyt Sing to contribute his proportion to the expences of the late war, though you, one of his council, had assented to the measure, though it was communicated to the Minister and to the Court of Directors, and the pro-

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priety

priety of the act never questioned, until Cheyt Sing's resistance had occasioned his expulsion.

I have been the more full upon the Benares business, because it was one in which you had a very material concern. When the first demand was made in 1778, you assented to it, but expressed some doubts as to the right. These doubts drew from Mr. Hastings a most explicit declaration of his sentiments. They were transmitted home, but never censured either by the Minister, or by the Company. To the demand in the second year (1779) you also assented, but when Cheyt Sing refused to pay, you objected to troops being sent in order to compel him. If the demand was right, it was surely right to enforce obedience to it.

In the third year (1780) you assented to the demand, and on an unexpected delay in the payment, after a solemn promise,

from Cheyt Sing, that there should be no delay, you assented to a motion for two battalions being ordered to Benares, to enforce the board's orders, and to a fine of one lack being levied upon Cheyt Sing for his disobedience. ✓

When Sir Eyre Coote in Oct. 1780, proposed to call upon Cheyt Sing for cavalry, in a most critical and alarming moment, you assented to that demand also, and soon after you quitted India. For the subsequent measures Mr. Hastings is solely responsible; but up to this period, how you could have been one of a committee that framed these acts into criminal articles, how you could have voted for them, has, I do assure you, at all times struck me with much astonishment. I will hope, and believe that the business now appears to you in a very different light from what it did, and when reason takes her turn to reign, we may all lament our indiscretions. ✓



Having finished with Benares, I now proceed to Bengal, Bahar, and our part of Orissa. The revenues of these opulent kingdoms arise from land, salt, and opium. The two last sources of revenue were, as you well know, created by Mr. Hastings himself. It has always been your opinion, that the monopoly of opium ought to be totally abolished, and such was once the opinion of Mr. Dundas, which upon better information he abandoned. The writer of the 9th Report of the Select Committee, who professes to be indebted to you for all his knowledge, very strongly condemns this monopoly. It was for many years in the hands of the Company's Civil Servants at Patna, as fair, and as public a perquisite of office, as any of the fees received at the Exchequer, or as any of those sinecure places, which Mr. Pitt settles for life upon his friends.

Mr.



Mr. Hastings was the first person who conceived the idea of making the East India Company a participator in the profits of this monopoly, and in 1775, he took the whole for the public. I have read with much attention your sentiments upon this monopoly, and I perfectly agree with you, that it is bad policy, if opium is to be procured by contract, to grant that contract upon too low terms to any contractor. Keeping this principle in view, the Board granted the contract for two years to Mr. Griffiths, at 190 rupees a chest. He being the lowest bidder of fourteen persons, native and European, who offered to furnish opium by contract. It is a certain fact, that the Company's servants at Patna, who as merchants would buy a commodity on the best terms for themselves, never purchased it at so low a price. In 1777 this contract was granted for three years to Mr. Mackenzie on precisely the same terms that Mr. Griffith had held it, yourself and General Clavering  
being

being parties to it; for it was granted *unanimously*, when unanimity was not usual. In 1780 it was again granted by the Board *unanimously* to Mr. Mackenzie for one year longer, on the same terms, yourself and Mr. Wheler being then a majority of the Board. In 1781 it was granted for four years to Mr. Stephen Sullivan on the same terms; and though I have no right to question any part of your conduct, yet I do assure you, no circumstance ever struck me with more astonishment than your joining in the vote to impeach Mr. Hastings for a transaction in which, if there was any thing wrong in it, you yourself were *particeps criminis*; for a transaction in which the principle that you laid down, and laid down well in 1775, was rigidly adhered to. When Mr. Sullivan's contract expired in 1785, it was again publicly advertised, Sir John Macpherson, the Governor General, observing, that the Directors had disapproved of Mr. Sullivan's contract, although granted precisely upon  
the

the same terms with that of all his predecessors.

I detest a quibble, let it come from any quarter. There was a clause in Mr. Mackenzie's contract, empowering the Company to annul it, *if they should disapprove of the monopoly*—of the *monopoly* they did not disapprove, and therefore that clause was omitted in all subsequent opium contracts. It is stated in the 9th Report, that this omission was criminal, but the assertion is ridiculously false. The Directors on the 23d of December 1778, acquiesced (and they would have been madmen if they had not) in the continuance of this *monopoly*; but what they disapproved of was, that it had not again been put up to auction, in order that better terms for the Company might, if possible, have been procured. This order arrived in December 1779, yet the Board *unanimously*, yourself a member, granted Mr. Mackenzie the contract *for one*  
*year*

*year longer, in May 1780.* If disobedience was criminal, it was at this moment; and therefore the *renewal* of Mr. Mackenzie's contract is completely *sunk*, both in the 9th Report, and in the Articles of Impeachment.

Now let me ask you, what alteration is there in the *system* established by Mr. Hastings? Prior to *his administration*, opium was a monopoly for the benefit of individuals; *he* made it a monopoly *for the advantage of the East-India Company.* To the close of his administration it was granted by contract on the terms fixed in 1775; since his resignation it has again been put up to auction, and now produces a greater advantage to the Company: but the system was formed by Mr. Hastings, and to him is the Company indebted *for this branch of public revenue.*



Salt is another very great and very improving article of revenue, for which the Company is indebted to Mr. Hastings, *and to him alone.* His plan, as you well know, was opposed by Mr. Wheler, Mr. Barwell, and yourself, and when your acquiescence was at last granted, *the responsibility rested with Mr. Hastings,* with this declaration from you, that the advantages to result from it were *very uncertain,* and would be *very inconsiderable.* The condemnation of this scheme in the 9th Report of the Select Committee, shews the excessive folly and absurdity, into which even a man of genius will run, when writing of a country, and upon a subject of which he can know nothing. The system laid down by Mr. Hastings is still adhered to. The salt is manufactured on the Company's account. The revenue, which in his time was more than six hundred thousand pounds a year, now exceeds eight hundred thousand; at the outset of this plan, Mr. Hastings fixed the



emoluments of the agents at 15 per cent. and they all most honorably made fortunes, from that allowance. Mr. Burke eagerly seized upon this circumstance as proper matter for crimination; but Mr. Pitt in this instance was just, and he was generous. He expressed an earnest wish that *he* might have the good fortune to strike out so great an additional revenue, and he would with pleasure give up 15 per cent. to those employed in the collection of it. The system continues to the present hour, and the percentage Mr. Hastings himself had lowered before he quitted the government.

The next and the great article of revenue is that arising from land.

On your arrival in Bengal, Oct. 1774, the revenues were collected through the medium of Provincial Councils. The gentlemen with whom you were associated formed a decided majority against Mr. Hastings; you

you were supposed to enjoy the fullest confidence of the British Minister, and Mr. Hastings was an unprotected, unconnected individual.

The government of such a kingdom as Bengal thus devolving upon three gentlemen who were utter strangers to the language, manners, and customs of the people they governed, it is not surprising that Mr. Hastings conceived the mode of collecting the revenues through the agency of Provincial Councils, to be the best that could be adopted, and as such, he recommended it to the Company. You thought it by far the worst; but it so happened, that in the violent disputes in England in 1776, the Whigs joined with the friends of Mr. Hastings; and Lord North and Mr. John Robinson were beat in their stronghold, the India House. When Colonel Monson, and afterwards General Clavering died, Lord North, from the avowed enemy,

became so far the supporter of Mr. Hastings, as to renew three several times, his commission as Governor General of Bengal, and parliament consented to each renewal without one dissenting voice. His Lordship's motives he has publicly declared; "he continued Mr. Hastings, because it was in a season of war of great danger, difficulty, and distress, because Mr. Hastings was a man of firmness and ability, and because he possessed the confidence of the East India Company."

Thus confirmed in office, Mr. Hastings, after your departure, abolished the Provincial Councils and formed his own plan, a plan however which he never did carry into execution completely; and therefore it is, I assert, that the system which he did in fact establish, continues to the present moment; that some small alteration has taken place in the detail, I allow, *but none in the system.*

The plan of Mr. Hastings was exactly similar to that of Lord Clive in this most material part, that except where it was absolutely necessary to be otherwise, the revenues should be entirely collected by the natives. He therefore abolished the Provincial Councils, appointed a Committee of Revenue in Calcutta, and proposed hereafter to recal all the chiefs and collectors, but those of the frontier stations. ✓

But except in the abolition of the Provincial Councils and the appointment of the Committee of Revenue, the plan never was carried into execution; chiefs or collectors were appointed to almost every place at which they are now stationed. Of the general plan of Mr. Hastings, or its subsequent modifications, the Directors neither disapproved nor approved, unless as the latter was implied in their appointment of Mr. Halhed to a seat in the Committee, and in their acknowledgements of Mr. Hastings's

meritorious exertions in providing supplies during the war. In the year 1786, nearly two years after the institution of the Board of Controul, this plan of 1781 was taken under consideration, and a letter supposed to have been written by Mr. Boughton Rouse, was sent to Bengal, granting certain powers to the Governor General and Council which hitherto had been withheld, and which authorized a ten years settlement. The same letter empowered the government to divide the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, into collectorships, and the number was in consequence increased from twenty-three to thirty. The Committee of Revenue remained, and was to be termed the Board of Revenue in future, with a member of the Council for their President. It has been a work of infinite labour and difficulty to collect materials for the ground work of the ten years settlement, which is not yet concluded. It has been productive of much difference of opinion amongst the members of



of the Board, and even between Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore, as appears by documents which I conclude you have inspected as well as myself, for I believe there is a waggon load of them at this moment in one of the Committee rooms; but unless we are to be overfet by a quibble, I should really be glad to know any thing like a change that has taken place *in the system* established by Mr. Hastings. When Mr. Anderson and Mr. Shore made their settlements, they did it in every practicable instance with Zemindars, and their successors have done the same.

Since my arrival in Bengal in 1767, there have been various changes in the mode of collecting the landed revenue. From 1767 to 1769, they were completely under the management of Mahomed Reza Cawn. Mr. Verelst in 1769 sent supervisors into several districts. Two Boards of Revenue were appointed in 1770, the one at Moorshedabad, the other at Patna. In 1772, the change

was

was made by Mr. Hastings, which totally reversed all former systems. He deprived Mahomed Reza Cawn, (by orders from home) of all power, and made Calcutta the seat of government. From that moment the ancient city of Moorshedabad has been nothing more than the residence of a Nabob and his family subsisting upon pensions, and Calcutta has increased in size and opulence beyond any city in the world, in the same space of time.

In 1773, the collectors were withdrawn and six Provincial Councils were appointed, a scheme professedly temporary, but which became of long continuance from your arrival, and the unfortunate contentions that followed. In 1781, these Councils were recalled and a Committee of Revenue appointed, which is still continued. But in point of fact, all these several changes were merely modifications of *the system which Mr. Hastings established in 1772*, when he  
 formed

formed the Council of Calcutta into a Council of Revenue, and removed all the Revenue offices from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, under the immediate controul and superintendance of the Council.

I think it hardly possible that you can have seen the accounts of the annual collections in the last twenty years, without being struck by the very remarkable equality in the several years collections. The account is before Parliament, and has indeed been repeatedly published; but it may be of some use in the present moment to bring it into one point of view in Current Rupees; all the revenue accounts are kept in Siccas, but as Mr. Dundas has presented the accounts annually in his Budgets in Current Rupees, I have reduced them to that exchange, but without attending to fractions.

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Years.

Years.	Lacks of Current Rupees.	
1772-3	297	} This year Collectors were appointed.
1773-4	294	
1774-5	295	} These eight years the revenues were un- der the Provincial Councils.
1775-6	296	
1776-7	291	
1777-8	286	
1778-9	290	
1779-80	288	
1780-1	282	
1781-2	301	
1782-3	299	} These six years the revenues were col- lected under Mr. Hastings's new sy- tem.
1783-4	300	
1784-5	303	
1785-6	299	
1786-7	311	} These three years they were collected un- der the alteration in detail ordered by the Board of Con- troul.
1787-8	298	
1788-9	315	
1789-90	308	

Admitting that Parliament has not been deceived by false accounts, I think it not possible for any gentleman to look into these particulars, without remarking that there could have been nothing oppressive in the

the plans adopted by Mr. Hastings, since they have been attended by an increase in the land revenue, notwithstanding the vast drains to which Bengal has been subject for so many years.

An attempt was certainly made, though very unsuccessfully, to overturn a part of this account, by shewing that the *nett* receipts into the Company's treasury, from the land revenues, were not so high since the abolition of the Provincial Councils as before; but Sir John Macpherfon had already replied to this assertion, by shewing that the additional expences incurred, were in fact the increased charges of Government; they were first reduced considerably in Bengal, and still further reduced by orders from England.

It was the policy of Lord Clive to keep every Englishman as much as he could



from the interior of the government, and to transact business of every kind, through the agency of Mahomed Reza Cawn. This was his last and parting advice to Mr. Verelst, and it was faithfully followed until we began to be involved in very serious difficulties. The Directors themselves had the boldness to break the charm ; they ordered Mr. Hastings, on his accession to the Government, to form a new plan for collecting the revenues, and to bring Mahomed Reza Cawn to a trial for his supposed delinquences. Then it was, (in 1772) that the system was formed, and the revenue business grew familiar to the Company's servants.

✓ But the utmost difference between the collections in any two years in this long period of eighteen years, is only two hundred and thirty thousand pounds ; in general the difference is very inconsiderable, and although there has been a considerable increase  
in

in the land revenues, since the abolition of the Provincial Councils, it accounts for a very small part indeed of the increase of the *revenues* of the Bengal Government, *during Mr. Hastings's administration.*

The total resources the year preceding his administration, were three crores and thirteen lacks ; they were the three last years of his administration, five crores and twenty-five lacks upon the average, being an increase of above two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and they are still annually increasing.

The increase proceeds from four sources, for all of which the Company *is solely indebted to Mr. Hastings.* Viz. Opium—Salt—Benares, and Oude.

During the governments of Lord Clive, Mr. Verelst, and Mr. Cartier, opium did  
not

not produce a single rupee to the Company; Mr. Hastings first made it an article of revenue. It produced in his administration, five hundred and fourteen thousand and nine pounds sterling, and may now be fairly calculated, one year with another, at one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

You know what infinite pains have been taken to impose upon the common sense of mankind, and to detract from the merit due to Mr. Hastings, *and to him alone*, for creating this branch of the public revenue. It is industriously concealed from the public that Mr. Sullivan had the contract for the same period, and upon precisely the same terms that Mr. Mackenzie had held it. We are not told, as the truth is, that Mr. Mackenzie got it on the same terms also, as his predecessor, to whom it was given; because he offered the lowest terms, of fourteen persons, who proposed to contract for it; but

it.

it is represented as a most corrupt and abominable transaction, because Mr. Sullivan chose in a few months to sell his contract to a gentleman rather than to run any risk, and because the gentleman to whom he sold it disposed of it to another. But the original transaction is not by any manner changed by the act of Mr. Sullivan. The merit and the crime, if there be any, stands thus: To Mr. Hastings, and to him exclusively, is the merit due, of having created this branch of revenue.

To Mr. Hastings, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and yourself, the merit is due of having made this revenue as productive as possible in 1775, by then giving the opium contract to the lowest bidder. To Mr. Hastings, General Clavering, Mr. Barwell, and yourself, is the demerit due, (if there be demerit in it) if not again advertizing for proposals in 1777, when

when you granted the contract to Mr. Mackenzie for three years.

To Mr. Hastings, Mr. Wheler, and yourself, is the demerit due, of having renewed this contract with Mr. Mackenzie for one year, in May 1780, although there was then before you an observation from the Directors that you ought in 1777, to have advertised for proposals, and to have granted the contract to the lowest bidder. Here then is the real point of criminality, and were Mr. Burke to speak four days upon it, out of the seven *that he has contracted for*, he can make nothing more of it than I have stated. If the transaction be a job, I should be very glad to compare it with some of those jobs, for which the people of England are daily paying, though without receiving the smallest benefit in return. Were Mr. Pitt's escrutore to be rummaged as Mr. Hastings's has been, for you have all his secrets, I fancy the public would find that



that much had been granted, and nothing by which *they* could benefit, received in return.

Salt, since our acquisition of Bengal, has produced as follows: ✓

Years.	£. Sterling.
1765-6	— —
1766-7	118,926
1767-8	144,218
1768-9	— —
1769-70	16,907
1770-1	70,914
1771-2	61,663
1772-3	45,027
1773-4	229,192
1774-5	130,263
1775-6	loss of 1,473
1776-7	139,012
1777-8	54,160
1778-9	63,697
1779-80	32,237
1780-1	8,427

Years.	£. Sterling.	Current Rupees.
1781-2	321,912	} Mr. Hastings's plan.
1782-3	605,646	
1783-4	603,076	
1784-5	62,52,948	
1785-6	48,39,000	
1786-7	45,50,000	
1787-8	51,00,000	
1788-9	82,35,000	
1789-90	86,41,000	

The next additional source of revenue is from Benares, and it has produced as follows :

	Years.	Current Rupees.
In	1775-6	7,97,578
	1776-7	31,99,303
	1777-8	26,32,705
	1778-9	31,66,935
	1779-80	35,44,925
	1780-1	31,18,390
	1781-2	22,31,426

Years.	Current Rupees.
1782-3	37,75,081
1783-4	43,69,025
1784-5	44,64,535
1785-6	37,47,627
1786-7	43,12,650
1787-8	43,67,524
1788-9	42,65,738
1789-90	46,84,450

Of the continuance of this revenue there cannot be a doubt ; on the contrary, a considerable increase may be expected from salt petre and opium hereafter.

The resources drawn from Oude are as follows :

	Years.	Current Rupees.
In	1774-5-6	1,35,05,186
	1776-7	30,13,683
	1777-8	1,04,36,966
	1778-9	85,54,290
	1779-80	67,74,206

Years.	Current Rupees.
1780-1	75,77,948
1781-2	1,37,96,228
1782-3	80,66,867
1783-4	83,89,357
1784-5	84,14,000
1785-6	37,50,000
1786-7	40,02,000
1787-8	52,03,603
1788-9	52,53,145
1789-90	53,39,073

You will scarcely deny Mr. Hastings the merit of striking out these additional sources of revenue, since he has been impeached for them all, the salt excepted, and that was made criminal by Mr. Burke, though to accommodate Mr. Pitt he withdrew the charge.

As my calculations are taken from the documents before Parliament, some branches

of the resources are calculated in English money, and others in current rupees.

In justification of my friend Mr. Lushington, I will bring the whole into one point of view.

The opium, salt, increase of land revenue, Oude and Benares, produced during the administration of Mr. Hastings, additional funds to the amount of above fourteen millions sterling. ✓

This is one way of proving the success of Mr. Hastings's measures ; and if you try it another way, you will find that the total resources of his government the year he quitted it, were two millions three hundred thousand pounds more than they were the year preceding his accession to it ; and what must carry conviction to the mind of a rational man that there is no deception, is this circumstance, that these resources have ✓  
been



✓ been increased to the amount of nearly three hundred thousand pounds since Mr. Hastings's resignation, owing principally to the additional quantity of salt manufactured ; an irrefragable proof of the increasing population and prosperity of the country.

^ You undertook the arduous task of proving, that the measures of Mr. Hastings had been attended “ with great loss and damage to the East-India Company, and “ with vexation, oppression, and destruction, to the natives of Bengal.”

Mr. Pitt defended Mr. Hastings. He most positively and solemnly denied, that the revenues had declined under his administration, and he affirmed that they were then in a most promising state ; but Mr. ✓ Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, the four members of the Board of Controul, were left in a minority. You had the honour of beating the Minister by  
a ma-

a majority of sixteen in a Committee of the whole House, and they then abandoned the revenues to your discretion. To you I impute no blame for maintaining your opinion, if it is sincerely your opinion, though I wonder how a man of common sense can retain it, in opposition to the most positive evidence—but the India Minister is deeply responsible indeed, for not opposing in every possible stage, an article of Impeachment which most pointedly falsifies every representation that he has ever given of the past and present state of India.

In this article you took the lead, in others you merely gave your assistance, but in this I imagine you will agree with me, that the articles are in all their most material parts, a direct attack upon the system by which India is now governed, and that Mr. Hastings has been brought to the bar of a Court of Justice to answer for those exertions by which he saved India, and for the adoption of mea-  
sures

tures which have received the fullest approbation of his Majesty's Ministers, and of Parliament.

All parties in the House have concurred in speaking highly of Earl Cornwallis. To speak more in his praise than he merits, I hold to be impossible; but how it is possible to approve *generally* of Earl Cornwallis's measures, and to condemn *in the lump* those of Mr. Hastings, is to me the greatest of all absurdities.

That the systems, both foreign and domestic, which Mr. Hastings formed, Earl Cornwallis has continued, I have proved beyond the possibility of contradiction. His favourable opinion of Mr. Hastings is perfectly well known to many very respectable men in England. His Lordship must have read the proceedings in the trial of Mr. Hastings, and the Articles of Impeachment; he must know that Mr. Burke has publicly  
declared,

declared, “ that Mr. Hastings was hated and  
 “ detested throughout Indostan, and that  
 “ Bengal felt herself relieved from a weight,  
 “ under which she had long groaned, when  
 “ he resigned the government.” The same  
 sentiments, though in other words, are  
 to be found in the Articles. Lord Corn-  
 wallis has himself been the channel of con-  
 veyance for the most complete refutation that  
 could possibly be given to these general  
 assertions. His Lordship in Council trans-  
 mitted to the Court of Directors, testimo-  
 nials from natives of all ranks, and religions,  
 in favour of Mr. Hastings. Were these  
 fraudulently obtained? The character of  
 Earl Cornwallis is of itself a full answer to  
 such a question. Would he participate in  
 so foul an imposition? Mr. Shore and Mr.  
 Anderson, and many other gentlemen, have  
 told you in Westminster Hall, that the  
 natives thought very highly of Mr. Hastings,  
 and their own attestations in his favour, put  
 the fact beyond all doubt.

The Impeachment of Mr. Hastings has brought about unions more wonderful than that of the lion and the lamb, of Prince Cantemir. Could you have supposed a few years ago that your friend, Mr. Burke, would have thought himself *perfectly secure* when seated between persons, “ whose gigantic corruption was not to be equalled by all the acts and monuments in the records of peculation, the consolidated corruption of ages, or amongst the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity ?” How must the *imputed* sins of Mr. Hastings sink, in comparison with the *actual crimes* of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, if Mr. Burke has not grossly libelled them ; yet have we lately heard him speak even *kindly* of these ministers. Does your friend mean to confess that he accused them of corruption in 1785 without a cause ? or does he argue thus — “ My life has been a *life of compromises* ; I think of ministers as despicably as I always did,



“ did, but I am in want of their assistance  
 “ now, and I must compromise in order to  
 “ procure it.”

However you may appear to the world, yet you must have some moments of serious reflection as well as other men; and I defy you to reconcile any part of Mr. Burke's conduct, in the course of this Impeachment, to justice, or to common sense. There only wanted his union with two men whom he he has described as the last, and most despicable of the human race, to wind up his political character. Is it possible for man to commit a more enormous crime than Mr. Burke has charged upon Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas? To rob a Prince in alliance with the British nation, whose country was desolated by war, under the pretence of making him pay debts that he never contracted, and to do this for no public good, but in order to repay a rapacious, and corrupt body of men, for the expences they incurred in

procuring seats in Parliament, is a crime of so atrocious a nature, that were every thing true, of which he has accused Mr. Hastings, he must be a virtuous man, when compared with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas.

Allow me before I conclude to shew you how difficult it is to distinguish right from wrong in politics, and to prove that acts which are highly criminal in Mr. Hastings, are laudable in the greatest possible degree in others.

Lord Macartney, when he took charge of the Government of Madras, represented, in a letter to Mr. Hastings, the distresses of Fort St. George; and amongst other subjects mentioned the arrears then due from the Rajah of Tanjore. Mr. Hastings, in reply to this letter, makes the following observation:

On

On the Ganges, 26th July, 1781.

“ The late President and Select Commit-  
 “ tee informed us that the Rajah had re-  
 “ fused to contribute a store of grain for the  
 “ subsistence of the army, for which the  
 “ President had written a letter to him, ex-  
 “ pressive of his displeasure. This is a lan-  
 “ guage so remote from my conception of  
 “ the actual and absolute rights of your go-  
 “ vernment, while it is charged with the  
 “ entire defence of the State of which the  
 “ Rajah is a member, and of his depen-  
 “ dance, that I can scarce offer an opinion  
 “ which shall not appear extravagant in the  
 “ comparifon. In a word, I think it im-  
 “ proper, *at such a time*, to leave the Rajah  
 “ an option to withhold a grain of his store,  
 “ or a rupee of his treasury, *from the service*  
 “ *of the general State*, and most heartily  
 “ advise, that while that service, *in the*  
 “ *present desperate condition of it, lasts*, the  
 “ *whole* (with the single reservation of his  
 “ own personal subsistence) *be taken out of*  
 “ *his*

“ *his hands*, in better trust for the *public use*.  
 “ These are my public, not private senti-  
 “ ments, and your Lordship is welcome to  
 “ avail yourself of them, in any manner  
 “ you please. Most heartily do I wish,  
 “ they may be conformable to your own.”

On the 28th of August, 1782, in the  
 most critical moment of the war, when it  
 was known that France was making her  
 great effort to ruin us in India, the Court of  
 Directors, Sir Henry Fletcher being the  
 Chairman, sent the following *reprimand* to  
 Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke had previously  
 mentioned the matter in Parliament.

“ The sentiments contained in the pre-  
 “ ceding extract, are so diametrically op-  
 “ posite to those which *we entertain re-*  
 “ *specting the rights of the Rajah of Tanjore,*  
 “ and the other Powers connected with the  
 “ Company, and are so repugnant to every  
 “ *idea of justice and moderation, and the*  
 “ agree-

“ *agreements subsisting between us and the*  
 “ *Rajah, that we cannot but express our*  
 “ *extreme surprize thereat. We hope and*  
 “ *trust, that they have made no impressi-  
 “ upon the minds of the Governor and*  
 “ *Council of Fort St. George, that may*  
 “ *prove derogatory to the rights of the Rajah.*  
 “ *We have written a letter to his Excel-*  
 “ *lency by this dispatch, a copy whereof*  
 “ *is inclosed for your notice, wherein we*  
 “ *have assured him of our unalterable deter-*  
 “ *mination to support and protect him in the*  
 “ *management of his own territories, accor-*  
 “ *ding to the agreements subsisting between*  
 “ *the Nabob of Arcot, the Rajah, and the*  
 “ *Company, and to guarantee to him and his*  
 “ *family, the quiet possession of his country.*  
 “ *We have, therefore, given directions to*  
 “ *our servants at Madras to govern them-*  
 “ *selves, in all their transactions with the*  
 “ *Rajah, agreeable to these determinations.*”

Such



Such was the return which Mr. Hastings's zeal in the public service *then* met with—*precisely the same circumstance has lately occurred.*

The Rajah of Tanjore has *again* fallen in arrear; and although a very recent treaty, concluded by Sir Archibald Campbell, prescribes in express terms the measures which *shall be taken*, when the Rajah *shall fall in arrear* in his payments, the Government of Madras, not thinking that mode *efficient* for realizing the resources of the country, *sets aside the treaty without scruple*, and takes the whole country into their own hands, thereby adopting, in its fullest extent, the doctrine laid down by Mr. Hastings in the last war, and so strongly reprobated by the Court of Directors.

This is one extraordinary contradiction; allow me to bring *a few more* to your view.

Mr.

Mr. Hastings is impeached *for the loss and damage which he has brought upon the East India Company.*

He increased their resources *above two millions three hundred thousand pounds a year, during his administration.*

He is impeached for having *vexed, oppressed, and destroyed the natives of Bengal.*

The people of all ranks and religions declare the assertion *to be false*; and it is proved by undoubted evidence, by gentlemen of whose honour and integrity both of us are fully convinced, that the natives are happier under our administration than ever they were before; and that under the mild influence of the British Government, agriculture, population, and commerce, have very considerably increased.

He is impeached for *a wanton waste of the public money for private purposes.*

Mr. Dundas's peace establishment in Bengal was higher, *by above one million Sterling*, than the peace establishment of 1777-8, when Mr. Hastings and yourself were at Bengal.

✓ The expences *of the present war*, though against *one enemy*, are so much higher than those of the last, where *all India* and the great powers of Europe *were united* against us, that it can only be maintained by the transmission of treasure from England, and *by laying fresh burthens upon this exhausted country.*

He is impeached for the means he took *to furnish supplies for carrying on the war.*

To those who think Mr. Hastings violated the law, in accepting presents for the

Company's use, or in withdrawing the guarantee from the Begum without full proof of her delinquency; I answer, he had no other means—Lord North was not disposed to send *him* five hundred thousand pounds in specie, nor as many pence, when his Lordship heard of the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder; nor to encourage him to exert himself by a vote of parliamentary approbation. On the contrary, Mr. Hastings had every possible species of counteraction at home to struggle against. Let me ask those who disapprove of the guarantee of the Begum having been withdrawn; Is the measure as strong, by many degrees, as that lately adopted in India? One of the contracting parties violates a solemn treaty, because it supposes, that the express provision made by that treaty for an *emergency that has occurred*, will not be efficient; or in other words, unless they take the entire management of of the Carnatic and Tanjore, they may fail in their resources for the war.

I have now gone through the great leading points relative to the Government of India—I defy any candid man to consider the subject truly without being struck with astonishment at the monstrous inconsistency of the King's Ministers: the observation cannot in this sense apply to you, I allow.

You have certainly been consistent. You and your friends have maintained that Mr. Hastings has desolated provinces, has overturned ancient establishments, has violated private property; and that therefore it was right to impeach him.

The Ministers have done the reverse of all this; they have said that he has preserved an empire in a season of the utmost danger, difficulty and distress; that he has improved the resources, and that nothing he did in the management of the revenues of Bengal, was worthy reprehension; yet, when you left them in a minority in a Committee of the whole



whole House, they permitted you to do and say what you pleased, though in *manifest, direct, and positive contradiction* to their own *Budget*. Your friends have said, that it was in the highest degree criminal to demand under any circumstances a rupee beyond his annual rent from Cheyt Sing, a Zemindar of the Company, and have therefore very correctly argued, that for every subsequent measure taken in support of a demand originally unjust, Mr. Hastings is fully responsible.

The Minister defended and proved the justice of the demand, and the criminality of the man who delayed to comply with it, but he conceived an *intended punishment* never communicated, to exceed an *actual offence*. Yet he very calmly and without farther hesitation allowed your friends to present their accusation as they chose to draw it out, though in direct opposition to the Minister's avowed sentiments,

In a word, the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings taken in this point of view, must strike you in the manner it does every rational man, as the most monstrous absurdity that ever disgraced a civilized country.

But it was undertaken to retrieve the character of Great Britain in India, say the friends of Mr. Pitt—How, or in what way? Has any inclination been shewn by any one man connected with Ministers, to give up one single advantage that Mr. Hastings procured for the nation? Does any one think of placing in the Zenana of the Begum, the sixty lacks of rupees that were taken from her eunuchs? or of giving the Nabob Visier credit for the ten lacks of rupees which were presented by him to Mr. Hastings, and by Mr. Hastings to the Company? Is there an idea of restoring Cheyt Sing? On the contrary, has not Mr. Pitt put his name to a letter to Bengal, in which it is said,

said, that no idea of his restoration *ever was entertained?* Does not Mr. Dundas plume himself, year after year, upon the flourishing state of the revenue? Has he ever encouraged your idea of reducing the Jumma? Is he not obliged to approve, in the hour of present distress, of a most unequivocal breach of treaty?

Let any one Gentleman read the curious resolutions moved by Mr. Dundas in 1782, that code of laws for India, and then let him consider what attention has been paid to the principles there laid down—With a surplus revenue of more than two millions sterling in Bengal, would you not suppose, that the Minister who avowed it to be a breach of treaty to withhold the payment of the Mogul's tribute, would order it to be punctually discharged hereafter, the moment the purse of Bengal was open to him?

Mr. Fox undoubtedly proceeded upon a very different plan. His bills professed to remedy all that Mr. Burke stated to be oppression in India, and all that his articles have since described as acts of oppression. Under his clauses he must have abolished the monopolies of salt and opium; he must have restored Cheyt Sing; he must have paid to the Mogul his arrears of tribute, and continued an annual payment of twenty-six lacks to the present hour. Many millions sterling would have been required to carry the provisions of his bill into effect.

*Fiat justitia ruat cælum.*

But Parliament by its annual votes has in effect stamped the measures of Mr. Hastings with their fullest approbation, while it permits him to remain impeached through life, for adopting them; a truth your friends are fully as sensible of as I am, though in  
this

this moment of compromise they will not so readily acknowledge it.

I have made this letter much longer than I originally intended, but before I conclude it, allow me to mention a very curious circumstance, which I only discovered yesterday.

The Impeachment of Mr. Hastings turned a good deal upon Mr. Sheridan's famous speech in the Begum charge; it received your warmest and most active support.

As far as I had seen upon the records, you had upon all occasions taken the part of the Nabob *against the Begum*, when in Bengal; and, in particular, you declared she ought not to be permitted to leave the dominions, and to carry with her the *immense treasures said to be in her possession*, without her sovereign's consent, although those treasures were at

L

that



that time *guaranteed* to her by the Company.

In July, 1779, Sir Eyre Coote proposed, that the donation granted to the army by the late Sujah Dowlah, in 1774, should be demanded from the present Nabob. The Board discussed this subject on the 9th of August, 1779. You contended, *that the Begum ought to pay this money, because all the treasures of Sujah Dowlah came into her possession; that this was a fair demand upon those treasures, being promised by Sujah Dowlah in his life-time; and even if he had bequeathed the Begum all his treasures, they must by every law have been charged with the debts he owed: to this Mr. Barwell objected, because we had guaranteed to the Begum all the treasures which might be in her possession on the 16th of November, 1775, in consequence of what she then gave up (fifty lacks.) To this you make the following*

reply,

reply, which is so great a curiosity, considering the part you have acted, that I shall give it at length, not invidiously, I assure you, but in the humble hope, that on better consideration you will feel concern for the violences into which you have been led by others:

Mr. FRANCIS.—“ I beg it may be understood that I do not acquiesce in any part of the preceding Minutes, *that respect the circumstances of the Begum and her son*, though it would lead me too far to enter into a refutation of it at this time. On one fact I beg leave only to observe, that the Agreement, alluded to by Mr. Barwell, was for thirty lacks only, *of which I am almost certain from memory, that no more than two-thirds were paid*; but be this as it may, the donation money, as I understand it, is due, not from

“ who inherited or got possession of the per-  
 “ sonal property of the late Visher ; conse-  
 “ quently the demand, if made on the  
 “ Begum, is not on account of the present  
 “ Nabob ; nor would it be any violation of  
 “ the Agreement above-mentioned, supposing  
 “ that Agreement to have been faithfully ex-  
 “ ecuted on her part.”

If this doctrine be true, what becomes of  
 your charge ? For it must apply, and so it  
 ought, to all the money Sujah Dowlah owed  
 when he died. The present Nabob suc-  
 ceeded to an empty treasury ; but he was  
 indebted sixty lacks to the Company, and to  
 his army double that sum. His troops were  
 in general nine months in arrears when  
 Sujah Dowlah died : so that, in fact, ad-  
 mitting the Begum has become possessed of  
 the treasures by gift or by will, which you  
 know was not the case, she should have  
 given up one hundred and ninety lacks of  
 rupees ;

rupees ; whereas, supposing her to have paid the full sum of twenty-six lacks, and thirty lacks in 1775, which I believe, with you, she never did pay, and that the sixty lacks taken from her eunuchs in 1782 are added, there is still a very considerable balance, upon your mode of reckoning, due from her to her son.

With this anecdote, which is of a singular kind indeed, I shall close my letter, assuring you, however you may look upon any thing which comes from me, as coming from Mr. Hastings, that he has never seen a line of this letter, nor, indeed, have I seen him since I began to write it. I did conceive it to be a justice due from me to Mr. Lushington, to prove by *authentic documents*, that he was fully justified in asserting what he did in the House ; and I did think that from a fair and candid review of past and present transactions

tions in India, you and I might agree in lamenting the inconsistency of our countrymen.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

THE END.



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